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ABSTRACT

This report reviews the research on issues and educational practices related to the implementation of anti-racist education. Topics addressed include: (1) underlying concepts; (2) target groups for anti-racist education; (3) the whole-school approach; (4) curriculum; (5) instructional strategies to reduce prejudice; (6) teachers' expectations, attitudes and classroom behaviours; (7) staff composition; (8) policies on racial/ethnic harassment and incidents; (9) assessment and placement of minority students; (10) parental and community involvement; (11) staff development; and (12) the role of the principal. The report concludes that anti-racist education emphasizes how vitally important is the commitment to both equity and academic excellence for all students. This commitment is viewed as good quality education with all learners benefiting. An extensive bibliography and selected references are included. (EH)

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Anti-Racist Education: A Literature Review

February 1994

Maisy Cheng

and

Avi Soudack

Executive Summary

This report is a review of literature on issues and educational practices related to the implementation of anti-racist education. The highlights of the literature can be encapsulated in the following points:

1. Anti-racist education can **benefit students** of all ages (especially elementary school children), and students from both the majority and minority groups in helping them to become effective citizens in a multicultural and global society.

2. In order to combat racism effectively, schools need a comprehensive, **whole school approach** which addresses both structural changes and attitudinal-behavioural changes at the individual level. The components of the whole school approach cover the official and hidden curriculum; instructional materials and strategies; teachers' expectations, attitudes and behaviour; language issues; staff composition; racial incident policies; assessment and placement practices; parental involvement; and staff development. The **principal** plays an important role in ensuring that anti-racist education becomes a reality in the school.

3. An **anti-racist curriculum** examines explicitly the issues of power and equality; helps students recognize stereotypes and prejudice; treats the majority group perspective as an equal of other ethnic perspectives; helps students develop a respect for differences; recognizes the contributions of all groups; and bolsters minority students' self-esteem. An anti-racist curriculum is most effective when it is interdisciplinary and permeates all subject areas.

4. **Materials** which show racial minority groups positively, and include images and ideas that are representative of the students and the community, can have a positive impact on children. They can enhance minority students' concept of their own race; increase students' knowledge and appreciation of other cultures; and decrease stereotypes and ethnocentric behaviour.

5. **Prejudice reduction strategies** that have been suggested as useful in the literature include those that take into account the cognitive, attitudinal and behavioural aspects of prejudice; provide personal and socially relevant experience to students; increase students' cognitive sophistication; provide positive and meaningful inter-racial group interactions; help students develop empathy for other racial groups; enhance students' self-esteem; and empower students as change agents.

6. While anti-racist materials and prejudice reduction strategies can be thought of as tools, **teachers are catalysts**. The effective use of these tools will largely depend on the disposition of the teachers implementing them.

7. By changing classroom procedures, teachers can remove some of the cultural barriers encountered by minority students in school. However, teachers must hold **high expectations** and value the **culture and language of minority students** in order to meet their needs and ensure that **both equity and excellence** are achieved.

8. Anti-racist educators perceive a close link between curriculum content and personnel and are concerned not only with what is taught, and how it is taught, but also by whom. It is important that the **racial composition of staff** reflects that of the student body because the staff composition forms part of the hidden curriculum, and students can acquire important learning from observing the power relationship in the schools.

9. Effective ways to deal with **racist incidents** include having formal policies which communicate clearly to the entire school zero tolerance for any form of racist expression, having a tracking system to monitor such occurrences, and encouraging staff to use such incidents to educate students about racism.

10. In addressing the inequity of learning outcomes for minority students, schools must critically review their **assessment and placement practices**. The literature suggests that assessment and placement should be based on the child's entire learning environment, including school and home. Schools should use comprehensive and relevant measurements, and a collaborative approach involving teachers, other professional staff, and parents in interpreting the assessment data and making placement decisions.

11. Since **parental involvement** has been documented as a key to the academic success of all students, schools should remove the barriers that discourage minority parents from taking an active role in their children's education. Instead, schools should value the assets that minority families bring to their children's learning, and find creative ways to collaborate with them as partners in educating their children.

12. **Staff in-service** which is on-going and is an intrinsic part of the whole-school effort to promote anti-racism tends to be effective. Other criteria for a successful in-service include addressing school processes that have been identified as sources of inequity; involving staff in planning; and using an active learning approach. In-service should include both teaching and support staff as well as all in-coming staff.

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Foreword

Anti-racist education and the re-evaluation of multicultural education have become major areas of research, theory and policy formation in the last few years. This report is at best a snapshot of an evolving topic. We have attempted to cover literature that recommends specific educational practices and that is based on empirical research. The philosophy, theory and policies of anti-racist education are more fully covered in other works. We have tried to identify aspects of educational practice that may be in need of change and to enhance understanding and advance debate of how to implement anti-racist education. We hope that this report suggests ways to move toward equitable, inclusive and relevant education.

We would like to thank the following people: Claudette Brown for word processing; the staff of the Education Centre Reference Library for bibliographic assistance; Rob Brown, Lisa Rosolen, Maria Yau and Suzanne Ziegler for suggestions and editorial input; and other Toronto Board of Education staff for reviewing drafts of the report.

Introduction

A recent trend in education is to move beyond a multicultural approach and to adopt an anti-racist education model.[1] There is mounting concern among community members and educators about structural barriers in the education system that produce inequality of student outcomes. Proponents of anti-racism question the adequacy of multicultural education as the solution to these problems. They are motivated by the recognition that existing curriculum and pedagogy have been ineffective in helping many minority students to achieve their full educational potential. Many parents, community members and educators "believe that the fundamental problems affecting the educational achievement of many minority students are more the result of discrimination by race than the diversity of culture" (Tator and Henry, 1991, p.146).

Dramatic changes in the demographic characteristics of communities and student populations in large urban centres have also led to the re-examination of school practices, policies, and curricula. Large urban school boards are becoming more culturally and racially diverse. For example, in the Toronto Board of Education, the percentage of non-White secondary school students increased from 38% to 46% between 1987 and 1991. During the same period, the percentage of students who are native speakers of a language other than English went up from 33% to 45% (Brown, Cheng, Yau and Ziegler, 1992). As a result, teachers and principals can no longer afford to attempt to maintain a homogeneous school culture. They are faced with the challenge of developing and implementing alternative educational practices that foster equality of learning outcomes for minority students.

In response to these developments, government policy has begun to address the issues of diversity and equity in education. In 1992, the Ontario government responded to these concerns by passing Bill 21 which gives the Minister of Education and Training authority to develop and implement anti-racist and ethnocultural equity policies.[2] These factors have put anti-racist education squarely on the agenda of all schools.

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1. For a discussion of the differences between multiculturalism and anti-racism see Thomas (1984) and Lee (1985).

2. See Appendix for more information on the Ministry's policy.

This review of literature is intended to provide some of the rationale and research evidence that underpins anti-racist approaches. It covers parts of the wide-ranging critique of educational practices that are seen to lead to unequal student outcomes. It also examines alternative practices that are recommended for achieving equity through the promotion of quality education for all students.

Underlying Concepts

A recent resource document published by the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training defines anti-racist education as "the effort to counter forms of racism manifested in the education process. Anti-racist education seeks to identify and change institutional policies and procedures and individual behaviours and practices that may foster racism" (p.33, 1992).[3]

A review of the current literature from Canada, the United States and Britain shows that different terminologies have been used to label the concept of anti-racism.[4] However, several common underlying assumptions seem to be implicit in this concept as articulated by various authors (Thomas, 1984; Lee, 1985; Brandt, 1986; National Union of Teachers, 1989; OSSTF, 1991; Allingham, 1992; Endicott and Mukherjee 1992; Epstein, 1993). These assumptions include:

- racism is structural and institutional, not just an expression of individual bigotry;
- racism is caused by concrete historical, social, cultural, political and economic factors which result in the unequal distribution of rights and privileges among all people in our society;
- racism is defined by its effects (rather than its intent) which result in ethnic minority groups being disadvantaged in many areas of their lives;
- racism exists in the education system because it exists in society;
- racism has an impact on all children and is often believed to be linked to the underachievement of ethnic minority students;
- schools are accountable for addressing the academic inequity of opportunities and outcomes for racial minority students;

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3. This publication, Changing Perspectives: A Resource Guide for Anti-racist and Ethnocultural-Equity Education is a comprehensive presentation of "ideas and strategies... designed to help principals, teachers, and support staff work together with parents and community groups to offer all learners an education suited to the needs of a multicultural society" (p.3).

4. The literature covered in this report also includes pieces that use the terms multicultural, race-relations and ethnocultural equity education which meet the assumptions of anti-racist education as discussed above.

- schools, as agencies of 'socialization' and 'cultural transmission', can make a difference: they can produce, reproduce and transmit racism, but they can also dismantle racism through appropriate policies, curriculum, pedagogy, and climate;
- racism is learned and can therefore be unlearned;
- the dismantling of racism involves both individual and collective action to address individual attitudes and prejudice as well as institutional and structural discrimination.

Increasingly, anti-racist education has come to include a critique of the "interlocking systems of oppression in society and to work towards comprehensive social justice" (Dei, 1993, p.6). This approach addresses the way class, gender, religion and language differences are inter-related with racism in our society. Educators who take this approach define anti-racist education in a broad sense to embrace challenges against any "systemic barriers which marginalize groups of people. It includes globally-based school curriculum, system-wide equity programs, and the analysis of social systems and their relationship to power ... [It] seeks to empower individuals to maximize participation in society through non-sexist/non-racist educational strategies at all levels throughout the education system" (OSSTF, 1991, p.133).

Target groups for anti-racist education

One issue that emerges from the literature is which students should receive anti-racist education. Should it include young students? Is there a need to offer an anti-racist education to students in all White or predominantly White schools? Is it necessary to offer an anti-racist education to racial minority students?

Anti-racist education for young children

There is research evidence showing that racism thrives among young students and in predominantly White schools. One example is the study by Hallan and Robinson (1989) which evaluated the attitudes of students towards different racial groups in Britain's predominantly White areas. Over 1,000 students, between the ages of 5 and 15, from 13 schools, were involved in the study. The study found that children preferred to work with jigsaw puzzles of a White boy over those of an Asian or Afro-Caribbean boy.

In addition, the study revealed that younger students (5-8 year olds) in a character casting exercise, overwhelmingly chose the Black man as the thief and the two White men as policemen after listening to a tape about two policemen trying to catch a criminal. In cases where one of the two White men was chosen as the robber, students usually gave a reason specific to the individual in the photograph, whereas when the Black man was chosen, the reasons offered for the choice were general statements about Blacks. This would suggest that the Black man was judged as a member of his race but not as an individual.

Other literature has also found that racial prejudice does exist in early childhood. For example, Ijaz and Ijaz (1982) wrote that: "Children are aware of race at about three years of age; that awareness increases rapidly during the following years, and it is essentially shaped by the time children enter first grade" (p.11). Milner (1987) observed that "primary school children have a colourful supply of racial insults to hurl into ordinary playtime disputes, which often changes their character, causing ranks to close along racial lines; that the children have a good grasp of adult stereotypes and use them with meaning and some affect; and that these notions become more elaborate, more differentiated, and thereby more resistant to change as the child gets older" (p.172).

These findings underscore the importance of starting anti-racist work with students as young as possible. Katz maintained that the elementary school years are most appropriate for addressing racism issues because this period constitutes a developmental stage "during which children's attitudes toward various social groups and their distinguishing characteristics are being elaborated upon and crystallized" (in Byrnes, 1988, p.267). Short (1993) also argues that anti-racist work with elementary school students is likely to be effective because they have not developed "a vested interest in retaining prejudice" (p.165).

A number of researchers have demonstrated that even elementary school age children are ready for and can benefit from such "controversial" issues and fundamental concepts as social justice, equality, power and prejudice in the curriculum (Carrington and Short, 1989; Hladki, 1993; McGregor, 1993). All these imply the need for a well-conceptualized and sequential anti-racist curriculum starting from an early age, perhaps as young as kindergarten (Pinkus, 1992; Banks, 1993).

Anti-racist education for students in all-White schools

Many teachers in all-White schools take the position that "there aren't many of *them* here so there isn't a problem" (Gaine, 1987). In fact, teachers in Hallan and Robinson's study were surprised to find that deep racist attitudes existed in children in their White neighbourhood schools. Gaine (1987) offered a few reasons why teachers in White schools usually do not actively pursue anti-racist education, which include: the teachers' anxiety about controversy and the fear that by bringing it into the open will make things worse; their often genuine unawareness of pupils' attitudes because they have never heard anything explicitly racist; the apparent 'integration' of the few minority students in the school which gives the false impression that everything is fine; and the teachers' own unexamined prejudices about race (p.12).

Proponents of anti-racist education argue that fighting prejudiced attitudes of students in White neighbourhoods is equally important because racism exists throughout society. In fact, students come to school with negative stereotypes of different racial and ethnic groups due to exposure to the "societal curriculum" through the mass media. If the school remains passive and does nothing to intervene in the formation of children's racial attitude, the school is actually perpetuating racial bias in society (Banks, 1985).

Moreover, in order for these students to be adequately prepared for adult life as effective citizens in a multicultural and global society, they need anti-racist education. The National

Union of Teachers in Britain (1989) suggested that the curriculum for students in all White or predominantly White schools should not only reflect the community in which the students live, but must also prepare them for the multicultural society they will enter when they leave school.

The benefits of anti-racist education for White college students presented by Tatum (1992) are also applicable to students in the secondary schools. According to Tatum (1992), the increased awareness of the White students about racism "has a rippling effect on their peer group, which helps to create a climate in which students of colour and other targeted groups (Jewish students, for example) might feel more comfortable ...they will be better able to be allies to students of colour in extracurricular settings, like student government meetings and other organizational settings, where students of colour often feel isolated and unheard" (p.23).

Anti-racist education for minority students

Tatum (1992) maintained that understanding racism also benefits minority students. It will make them become more "able to give voice to their own experience, and to validate it rather than be demoralized by it. An understanding of internalized oppression can help students of colour recognize the ways in which they may have unknowingly participated in their own victimization, or the victimization of others. They may be able to move beyond victimization to empowerment, and share their learning with others" (p.23).

The whole-school approach

Most of the literature indicates that in order for anti-racist education to be implemented successfully, institutional changes involving the *whole* school must be made. According to Banks (1985), this is based on two ideas: that the school is an "interrelated social system", so changing one facet alone will not have much impact, and that "hidden values have a more cogent impact on pupils' attitudes than the formal programme of studies" (Lynch, 1987, p.60). The combination of a Eurocentric school environment and curriculum as well as the absence of role models send out a powerful subliminal message of inferiority to children of racial minority groups. This can become a breeding ground for racial minority children at risk of underachieving and dropping out of school (Price, 1991).

Brandt (1986) noted that a school which is serious about implementing anti-racist education should formulate a school-wide policy, "since one important part of anti-racism is about making explicit the implicit" (p.127). Dufour (1990) emphasized that piecemeal reform, such as changing the curriculum alone is inadequate: "positive images in the textbooks and classrooms are neutralised if institutional practices elsewhere ... are racist. Whole-school policies are therefore essential." Sleeter and Grant also pointed out that the isolated effort of individual classroom teachers is insufficient. Teachers should not be relied upon as the sole change agent for the school; schoolwide and districtwide programs are needed to meet the challenge of racism (in Hart and Lumsden, 1989).

Elements of a comprehensive whole-school approach

In practice, anti-racist education calls for a comprehensive reform in all aspects of school life which covers the following areas (Banks, 1985, 1993; Lynch, 1987; The National Union of Teachers, 1989; Farrell, 1990; Epstein, 1993):

- policies on racial incidents and harassment;
- the hidden and official curriculum (e.g. bulletin boards, signs, displays, posters, artifacts, photographs; assemblies; school awards; extra-curricular activities; composition of teams; school meals; dress codes/uniforms; religious holidays/festivals; curriculum contents; materials acquisition and evaluation);

- o classroom practices and teaching methods; teacher-student relationship, teaching-learning styles;
- o staff attitudes and behaviours; staff expectations of students;
- o links with parent and community (including home-school partnership, community involvement);
- o language policy (including English as a second language and heritage languages);
- o student assessment and program placement policies;
- o staff development through in-service;
- o staffing (hiring and promotion practices which affect the racial composition of staff in various positions).

The whole-school approach also means that all staff and members of the school community should be involved in the development of an anti-racist program. Practitioners and researchers have suggested that the development of "a whole school policy ought to involve all the constituencies that can be and will be affected by [its] implementation" (Brandt, 1986, p.127). He emphasized that policies that were fed down from the top have little success because "teachers often do not identify with it and sometimes do not understand or even care to understand it" (p.128). Involving the whole school encourages a cooperative and supportive environment, permits the context for dealing with "anxieties or misgivings", unites policy development with in-service activities, and assists in monitoring and assessing policy and priorities (Carrington and Short, 1989).

Example of a successful anti-racist school using a whole school approach

The Flemington Public School in the North York Board of Education is one example of a successful anti-racist school, using a comprehensive, school-wide approach (Price, M., 1991; Simons, M., 1991; Tator and Henry, 1991). The school serves a predominantly non-White student population, with 60-70% Black students, most of whom come from single-parent homes in the nearby public housing project.

The principal introduced a series of changes which addressed the structural barriers in the school that have created inequity of education outcomes in the past. The changes include:

- transforming the staff complement from mainly White to about one-third non-White, which is more representative of the student population;
- modifying the learning environment to communicate "a message that all children are valued... reflected by pictures, photographs and posters representing children of diverse backgrounds ..." (Tator and Henry, 1991, p.90);
- removing materials that are biased and outdated while increasing anti-racist and bilingual materials to make the library collection more reflective of the diversity of students;
- encouraging teachers to incorporate diverse perspectives into all aspects of the curriculum and to highlight the contributions of various minority groups;
- increasing the efforts to reach out to parents and the community, such as committing to an open-door policy to parents and the community; encouraging teachers to initiate contacts with parents; training teachers to interact more effectively with the community; using translations or interpreters for all important communications with parents, such as report cards; implementing a home reading program to serve ESL (English as Second Language) or ESD (English Skills Development) students; and encouraging parents to be resources to the teaching staff.

As a result of the implementation of the above initiatives, the school has been transformed from one with a great deal of academic and behavioural problems and a strained relationship with the community to one which is conducive to learning and "a source of pride for the students and the community" (Price, 1991). The academic growth of Flemington students is also evident in the mathematics tests they did as part of the 1990-91 regional Benchmarks process. The Flemington students started out with poorer results at the pre-test, compared to the total sample of North York students who participated in the Benchmarks process, yet they caught up and slightly surpassed the total sample at the post-test (Simons, 1991).

Other indicators of success can be found in the teachers' and parents' opinions of the school at the third year of the experiment. Compared to the overall sample of North York elementary teachers, the Flemington teachers were "more positive in their perceptions of their school's climate, school/community relations, planning and implementation of curriculum, and system goals, practices and beliefs" (Simons, 1991, p.27). Similarly, the Flemington parents responded more positively about their school than parents of elementary students across the system on every item in the survey. They were especially pleased with the program being

offered, the way their child was encouraged to reach his/her potential, and the school's ability to meet the needs of their child.

Many of the schools in the Toronto Board of Education, and in particular, a family of schools in the West part of the city, have started using the whole school approach to implement anti-racist education. The following sections examine each specific component of the whole school approach in greater detail.

Curriculum

The dismantling of racism entails working in three areas of curriculum reform: 1) an overall critical evaluation of the formal curriculum content, in particular omissions, inclusions and orderings; 2) a critical review of the instructional materials currently in use; and 3) a fundamental challenge of the hidden or latent curriculum (Brandt, 1986, p.130).

Most of the literature distinguishes the formal, overt or manifest curriculum from the hidden, latent or unintentional curriculum. The former usually means curriculum guides, textbooks and lesson plans, while the latter includes such intangibles as the images conveyed by school displays and signs, the presence of minority group members as authority figures in the school, and the affirmation of the minority students' language and culture by the school staff. Banks (1985) described the hidden curriculum as a "curriculum that no teacher explicitly teaches but that all students learn. It is that powerful part of the school experience that communicates to students ... how the school views them as human beings and its attitudes towards diverse racial and ethnic groups" (p.78).

Characteristics of a Eurocentred vs an anti-racist curriculum

Anti-racist educators challenge the exclusive Eurocentred curriculum as a monocultural perspective that is preoccupied with the achievements of White people and "omit(s) or marginalize(s) the historical contributions and influences of racial minorities to major human events" (Newton, 1992). Endicott and Mukherjee (1992), one a former trustee, and the other a former Race Relations Advisor at the Toronto Board of Education, illustrated such a curriculum with the following examples:

> If only Shakespeare, Milton or Dickens are taught as classics... if only western music is regarded as classical... if only the "discovery" version of Columbus' voyage to the Americas is promoted... if only one teaching/learning style is permitted... if only one accent is considered acceptable... then an exclusionary environment is created. (p.15).

Allingham (1992), an English Department Head in a Toronto Board secondary school, provided further examples of a racist curriculum and learning environment:

> When our curriculum consists of White versions of history and does not deal with the racist underpinnings of the current economic predicaments of developing countries and the continuing role of western societies in those predicaments ... when our science courses acknowledge the developments of

> European and White scientists, but never address theories of scientific racism, then the materials we are using are racist.
>
> When there are almost no students of colour in French immersion or in enrichment programs, when the school sports teams have feathered and painted native caricatures as logos, when the announcements in the schools refer to only the mainstream community's activities, then we have a racist learning environment.

The argument for changing the curriculum is that when the racial minority students are able to see the world through the eyes of their own ancestry rather than those of Europeans, and when they are represented in all aspects of the school system, it would be easier for them to develop "a sense of identification and connectedness to the school" (Walcott and Dei, 1993). Asante put it another way: "Students are empowered when information is presented in such a way that they can walk out of the classroom feeling that they are part of the information" (1991, p.29). Through observations, inquiry and discussions, he found that "children who are centered in their own cultural information are better students, more disciplined, and have greater motivation for schoolwork" (p.30). Cummins (1986) contended that students "who are empowered by their school experiences develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically" (p.23).

A synthesis of the literature shows the different facets of an anti-racist curriculum (Verma and Mallick, 1984; Banks, 1985; Mitchell, 1990; Bempechat, 1992; Hohensee and Derman-Sparks, 1992; Parak, 1992). Such a curriculum:

- examines explicitly issues of power and equality, and deep-seated problems related to super-ordination and unequal power distribution;
- develops critical thinking about social issues and human relations throughout all grades and helps students recognize stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination at the child's level;
- incorporates the history, experiences, cultural values and world views of racial minority students with the emphasis that different viewpoints and perspectives are equally valid; the majority group perspective becomes one among several other ethnic perspectives which are equally important;
- helps students develop a positive attitude and respect for differences, while recognizing the unity of humankind;

- affirms racial and cultural differences with regular and special activities throughout the school year, not *only* during a special time such as Black History Month and the Chinese New Year, because it may reinforce the idea that these ethnic groups are not integral parts of dominant society;

- includes the scholarship and contributions of males and females from all racial and ethnic backgrounds;

- bolsters self-esteem in ethnic minority students and develops in them the ability to stand up for themselves in the face of bias.

Some of the above aspects are reflected in a recent draft paper prepared by the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training (1993) on the common curriculum:

> What is taught in schools must represent an authentic picture of reality. The curriculum must reflect the variety of peoples and cultures in Ontario and Canadian society and accurately reflect the contributions and accomplishments of men and women of all races, cultures, religions, ages, abilities, and backgrounds (p.8).

One recent development in the area of curriculum is to link anti-racism with the concept of struggle against other forms of social inequalities and oppression, like sexism and class domination (Hart and Lumsden, 1989). Anti-racist education is subsumed under an inclusive curriculum which looks at people's social identity as multi-dimensional based on race, gender, class, age, ability/disability and sexual orientation. In this kind of "integrative anti-racist" framework, for example, "the social location of the Black woman within society can not be understood unless race, class, and gender are seen as interlocking systems of oppression" (Dei, 1993, pp.6-7). The creation of inclusive curriculum then is based on "...a weaving together of the multilayered complexities of human experiences... Efforts are made to reconceptualise knowledge to reflect better the diversity and complexity of human experiences" (LeBlanc and Wells, 1993).

The literature notes that in order for an anti-racist curriculum to be implemented successfully, it should *not* be treated as a separate unit or viewed as an additive process. Instead, it should be integrated into the rest of the curriculum, and treated as a perspective, whether the focus is on mathematics, science, technology or arts. In other words, it should permeate every aspect of the curriculum and be interdisciplinary because "any one discipline gives only a partial understanding of problems related to ethnicity" (Banks, 1985, p.80).

How to implement an anti-racist/anti-bias curriculum

Hohensee and Derman-Sparks (1992) propose a useful and practical framework for teachers thinking of implementing an anti-bias curriculum. Phase one requires the teachers to create an appropriate classroom climate for an anti-bias curriculum. During this phase, teachers will:

- o increase their awareness about anti-bias issues through the setting up of a staff-parent support group;
- o assess what the children know and feel about diversity through questioning and observation;
- o decide on curriculum activities appropriate to the children's awareness level;
- o assess the classroom environment to see if any subliminal biased messages exists;
- o modify the classroom environment with the help of parents, if changes are necessary. This may result in buying and making new materials and removing inappropriate materials that are stereotypical.

The next stage requires teachers to introduce the anti-bias concept during 'teachable moments' that arise or to actually initiate activities that lead to the topic, such as mixing paints to match skin colours of children. All parents should be informed about the anti-bias curriculum through newsletters or meetings at this point. The staff-parent support group set up in phase one should continue to meet to share successes, learn from mistakes, and strategize.

The final phase consists of an ongoing integration of "an anti-bias perspective as a filter through which the teacher plans, implements and evaluates all learning materials, class activities, and teacher interactions with children, parents, and staff" (p.3). This process is continuous, because the needs of children and issues with parents may change, and new development and research may shed new light in the area of anti-bias education.

Anti-racist instructional materials

Instructional materials in the classrooms or library have a central role in shaping children's attitudes by the messages and codes which are transmitted to students. "The ethnic groups that appear in textbooks and in other instructional material teach students which groups are considered to be important and unimportant by the school" (Banks, 1985, p.79).

Research has revealed that multiracial, multicultural materials (e.g. fiction, non-fiction, stories, poetry, novels, autobiographies, audio-visual presentations) which show positive models, and include images and ideas that are representative of the students and the community, can have a positive impact on children.[5] They can improve minority group students' concept of their own race; increase students' awareness, knowledge and appreciation of other races and cultures; change attitudes; decrease stereotypes and reduce ethnocentric behaviour (Campbell and Wirtenberg, 1980; Pate, 1988; Butt, 1989; Garcia, Powell and Sanchez, 1990).

For example, Campbell and Wirtenberg (1980) did a review of literature on the influence of multicultural books on children's attitudes and achievement. From the ten studies that they reviewed, they found that books can be an effective tool in reducing racist *attitudes*. For example,

- the use of readers that portrayed Blacks in a positive way or materials about Black history or different cultures was successful in enhancing Black students' attitudes towards themselves. It also improved White students' attitudes towards Blacks, influenced children to think that all races are equal, and made children less inclined to exclude members of other racial groups;

- the use of stories that portrayed American Indians and Innuit people helped non-Indian children develop favourable attitudes toward Native peoples.

Of the three studies they reviewed on the influence of books on student *achievement*, two were found to have an effect:

- Children using basal readers with multicultural characters and settings did better on tests of word recognition and oral reading than when similar books with White characters and settings were used; the improvement was especially marked for Black students on the word recognition test;

- A predominantly Black group of children using a Black studies curriculum showed higher achievement gains than a similar group of students who did not use the same material. Boys using the experimental curriculum, "progressed unusually well and expressed motivation and interest that were not typical of their normal school behaviour" (Campbell and Wirtenberg, 1980, p.4).

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5. Most of the available research, especially from the United States, uses Black students in their samples, hence the apparent imbalance of references to Black students in this section and others is a reflection of the existing literature.

Research by McPhie (1989) demonstrates that curriculum materials can enhance student understanding of -- and respect for -- other cultures. To be effective, the materials must be authentic, valid, and truly representative of the values of the cultural groups studied. McPhie's study examined a cultural immersion program for Grade 4 students in the North Vancouver School district using a curriculum written jointly by teachers and members of the Squamish Indian Band community. As a result of using the new curriculum, students in the experimental group showed more positive attitudes toward Native people and culture than similar students in the control group, who studied a regular Social Studies unit on Native Indian peoples.

Tavares and Young (1992) in their literature review summarized elements of materials that are found to be effective in reducing prejudice: materials that focus on similarities rather than differences; that adopt an "us" rather than "them" approach; that present characters of a similar age level to the reader as the 'victims' of prejudice, and "include evidence of active counter-measures by the victim" (p.30). Pate (1988), who studied audiovisual materials, found that films that are realistic, have a plot, portray believable characters, have an integrated cast and depict characters who model desired attitudes are more powerful than message films.

Butt (1989) suggested that multicultural materials that are based on a core of "generic substantive questions" with applications to a broad range of situations and personal needs are potentially useful. Some of the generic questions suggested are: How are oppression, prejudice, racism and discrimination manifested in my community, in others and in my life? Why do we oppress or victimize others? How can we learn to value contributions that others and ourselves can make? Based on these broad questions, the teacher and class can generate local content and teaching strategies relevant to their particular setting.

Teachers as links between materials and students

While materials can be thought of as the tools, teachers are catalysts. In fact, teachers are the most important link between the materials and the students because teachers' attitudes and instructional styles influence the effectiveness of curriculum materials. Research suggests that "what is important is not the amount of multicultural content included in a text but a teacher's role in the instructional program" (Garcia et al., 1990, p.13).

Effective teachers tend to know the strength and limitations of the textbooks and to use a variety of materials to supplement the textbook in teaching. They are likely to employ teaching strategies that facilitate learning the facts and changing attitudes. Such strategies include helping students to read for meaning, leading non-judgemental discussions that extend

beyond the material itself, asking relevant questions to clarify misconceptions, encouraging children to share relevant feelings and experiences, and promoting self reflections (Campbell and Wirtenberg, 1980; Garcia et al., 1990).

A study by Sanchez (in Garcia, et al., 1990) confirmed the impact of teacher presentations on students' knowledge and attitudes towards other cultural groups. In the study, teachers from two high schools in the American midwest were assigned one of two presentation approaches, using the same history textbook. Teachers from the control group were asked to use the standard features of the textbooks such as section and chapter reviews. Their students read the text and worked on assignments that focused on recall and comprehension. On the other hand, teachers in the experimental group were asked to use methods that extended student learning beyond the textbook and encouraged them to reflect on what they learned. Their students were exposed to many illustrations and highlight materials that supported the ongoing content, were challenged by a variety of questions in classroom discussions and received writing assignments that required them "to recall, interpret, analyze textbook content, and to hypothesize beyond the information provided" (p.11). It was found that teachers using the experimental approach were more successful in helping students to acquire knowledge about Blacks and to experience more tolerance toward cultural diversity in American society.

Dealing with racist materials

Teachers need to acquire the skills to identify those books which are biased. In addition to staff in-service, it is important that valid and reliable checklists for identifying suitable literature and textbooks be readily available to teachers (Verma and Mallick, 1984). Lynch (1989) emphasized the importance of "establishing clear guidelines for evaluating the accuracy, authenticity and fairness of the treatment of ethnic minorities in texts, learning materials and resources, and to identify material for weeding out which is in any way biased" (p.68). He cautioned that the process should be continual because new information, insights and understandings that become available may require an update of the existing guidelines.

While teachers should always strive to avoid biased materials, and actively seek out materials that promote anti-racism, they may not have a choice in some situations (National Union of Teachers, 1989). In practice, not all books that are found to contain subtle, hidden messages can be readily replaced, due to budget factors or the lack of a better alternative. However, teachers can help children to identify the inadequacies, to become critics of these materials and to develop book evaluation checklists themselves (Farrell, 1990). If children are systematically taught to detect stereotypes and prejudice, they will become increasingly more

alert to biased materials. "Moreover, guided reading with informed teachers would expose bias for what it is" (McDougall, 1985). To go one step further, the National Union of Teachers of Britain (1989) suggested that teachers extend the discussion of stereotypes that appear within classroom materials to the harmful images and biased reporting presented in the media, by using examples from magazines, newspaper, videos, and television.

Instructional strategies to reduce prejudice

Types of prejudice reduction strategies

The existing body of literature from Canada, the United States and Britain suggests that certain pedagogical approaches tend to be more successful than others in reducing prejudices and racism.[6] The following is a list of approaches that have been suggested as, or shown to be, effective by various practitioners and researchers in the field of anti-racism.[7] Although the methods are presented as discrete items, they tend to overlap. The list includes strategies that:

1. **heighten students' awareness of racism** by

    - o using direct teaching about the topic, experiential learning, and discussion (McGregor, 1993; Tatum, 1992);

    - o creating vicarious interracial contact through drama, role play, vignettes, simulations, reading, watching television and other media. These approaches would help students develop empathy or take on the perspective of a racial minority person. They also address a person's attitudes through the emotional and affective channels (Gimmestad and De Chiara, 1982; Ijaz and Ijaz, 1982; Byrnes, 1988; McGregor, 1993).

2. **increase students' direct contact with members of other cultural groups** by

    - o bringing to class or discussing ethnic role models as well as models that are **counter** to the popular stereotypes in the media, such as Asian athletes and Black intellectuals (Pate, 1988);

    - o using co-operative learning groups that involve minority and majority group members, characterized by **well defined group goals and individual accountability, equal status and equal contribution of group members, positive feelings, mutual interest, sustained encounter, school support and careful planning by teachers** (Ziegler, 1981, 1988; McDougall, 1985;

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6. However, this does not mean that there is total consensus among experts about the usefulness of these strategies. In fact, more empirical research is called for to find out how these strategies work.

7. Two excellent Canadian resource guides are: Kehoe (1984) and Ministry of Education and Training (1992).

Byrnes, 1988; Hart and Lumsden, 1989; Grant, 1990; Parrenas and Parrenas, 1990; Tavares and Young, 1992);

- o using cross-race peer (or cross-age) tutoring to break down racial barriers, and to increase the tutor's empathy, altruism and self-esteem (McDougall, 1985);

- o planning seating patterns that promote mixing of interracial groups in the classrooms (Pate, 1988; OSSTF, 1991);

- o encouraging positive inter-group interactions, such as intra-board, inter-board and international student exchanges cultural, immersion experiences and pupil inter-home visits (Butt, 1989, Ontario Ministry of Labour, n.d.);

- o promoting racially integrated co-curricular and extra-curricular team activities, such as athletic teams, bands, multicultural student clubs or associations that are open to all, and student leadership camps that offer opportunities for positive interactions (Ontario Ministry of Labour, n.d.; Tavares and Young, 1992).

3. **present the image of other racial/cultural groups in a more positive light** by

   - o drawing attention to the cultural similarities between people and identification with others because similarities are associated with psychological consistency and balance, while differences are believed to create dissonance and discomfort (Izaj and Izaj, 1982);

   - o balancing the concepts of victimization of minority groups with their advancement, contribution and resistance to racism (McGregor, 1993).

4. **increase students' cognitive sophistication** by

   - o enhancing students' "ability to think clearly about prejudice, to reason logically about it, and to ask probing questions" (Banks, 1985, p.76-77). This can help students to avoid overgeneralization which is the basis of all stereotypes;

   - o teaching perceptual differentiation, e.g. using methods that teach young children to differentiate the faces of out-groups to reduce the tendency of making negative generalizations (McDougall, 1985);

   - o using approaches that require students to make judgments and clarify their values (Tavares and Young, 1992);

   - o providing a different conceptual lens or new mental framework for viewing phenomena. Pate (1988) gave the example of students who studied semantics becoming less prejudiced after the course even though prejudice was not the focus of the class.

5. **help students in their personal development** by

   - o enhancing students' self-esteem because research consistently finds individuals with low self-esteem demonstrating more prejudice (Byrnes, 1988; Tavares and Young, 1992);

   - o using approaches that allow critical self-reflection on the student's own development, e.g. identification and description of positive and negative feelings through journal writing, personal biographies, and taping oneself before and after the training to see the change in attitude and understanding of racism (Butt, 1989; Tatum, 1992).

6. **empower students as change agents** by

   - o reading about or hearing from individuals who have been effective change agents (Tatum, 1992);

   - o developing action plans to combat prejudice and racism in small groups and then sharing the ideas with the whole class. The dual importance of making students aware of racism and making them aware of the possibility

of change was stressed by Tatum (1992) who considered it as "unethical to do one without the other" (p.20-21).

In order to reduce students' discomfort and anxiety about the topic of prejudice and racism, Tatum (1992) advised teachers to make the classroom a safe place for discussion. This can be achieved by establishing guidelines of confidentiality and mutual respect at the beginning of the unit or lesson. Another useful measure is to inform students in advance about the different stages of emotional response (such as guilt, shame, embarrassment) they are likely to go through in learning about racism. This will help to normalize the students' experience and help them remain engaged when they reach a certain stage of emotional response.[8]

Examples of effective prejudice reduction strategies

The following are a few illustrations of how some of the above-mentioned approaches have helped students improve their attitudes and interethnic relationships. For example, a multi-dimensional approach using role play, drama, folk-dance, music, art and crafts and games was found to be effective for teaching about East Indian culture in Scarborough. The program design was based on cultural similarities and human values universal to all peoples and cultures. White students were found to have improved their attitudes toward East Indian students at the conclusion of the program, as well as three months later (Ijaz and Ijaz, 1981).

According to the authors, the success of the program was due to "the emotionally intensive experience in multicultural living. It provided an apprenticeship in East Indian living rather than academic instruction about life in South East Asia" (Ijaz and Ijaz, 1982, p.15). The focus on similarities in values, rituals, customs and traditions between cultures, the universality of feelings and emotions (joy, grief, hardship) and the acting out of East Indian roles in a variety of situations contributed to its success by helping students to understand their ways of living. The instructional content was received by children at the cognitive-rational level, as well as the emotional and affective level, and it was related to the children's own culture, and hence has more meaningful application to their own lives. These elements are "essential for acquiring genuine knowledge, understanding and appreciation of another culture" (Ijaz and Ijaz, 1981, p.20).

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8. Tatum's work on teaching university students about racism is more applicable to secondary school and older elementary school students.

Melenchuk (1989) demonstrated in his Saskatchewan experiment that prejudice of grade eight students toward Prairie Indians was reduced at the end of a cross-cultural training program. The positive effects were still evident six weeks after the intervention. He attributed the program success to its ability to reach the affective roots of students' prejudicial attitudes. The program activities included "simulation games, communication exercises, role playing, research projects, readings, lectures, and discussions. The debriefing discussions that followed most of the activities were the most important part of each of the lessons, because they allowed the students to analyze [and examine] the cognitions they developed and the emotions they had experienced in the activities" (Melenchuk, 1989, p.214).

A Toronto Board study supports the hypothesis that cooperative small group learning is an effective way to promote both inter-ethnic relationship and academic learning (Ziegler, 1981). The experiment involved eight weeks of intervention with grade six students. At the end of eight weeks, students studying in cooperative groups showed greater increase in cross-ethnic friendship than children assigned to the comparison group. The greater gain of the experimental group was maintained ten weeks after the intervention. The study also found that children in the experimental group learned more and retained more than children in the comparison group. Ziegler (1988) suggested that the positive results about learning were probably due to the active mode of learning, as opposed to the passive mode of teacher talking and student listening.

A British study of 7-10 year-old students from an "all White", working class neighbourhood demonstrated the effectiveness of a program that teaches children about the dangers of generalization without valid evidence. Program activities included eliciting children's comments on the likely personality of an individual shown in a photograph, having a researcher challenge the students' descriptions of the photograph, and having the students read a story, act out a drama and participate in a follow-up activity that reinforced the purpose of the program. At the end of the intervention, students in the treatment (experimental) groups as well as those not receiving any treatment were asked to respond to a set of hypothetical moral dilemmas. The results demonstrated that the experimental groups were more likely than the control groups to condemn the behaviours of individuals in the dilemmas who made sweeping generalizations based on group rather than individual qualities. The positive findings applied to both older and younger students (Short, 1993).

A meta-analysis of 17 studies from North America and Britain provides empirical evidence that both role play and direct teaching supplemented by discussions are effective in reducing racial prejudice (McGregor, 1993). Specifically, students who were exposed to these

treatments exhibited less racial prejudice than students not receiving the treatment. The analysis also concluded that younger students were found to be more receptive to attitude change than older students.

Factors influencing the effectiveness of prejudice reduction strategies

Although the methods presented in this section can potentially reduce prejudice and improve inter-ethnic relations, their success will depend on 1) the manner or conditions under which they are carried out, 2) the attitudes of the teachers implementing them, and 3) the whole-school environment that can enhance or undermine the teachers' efforts.

For instance, the strategies become more powerful when used together, especially when the combination of methods takes into account the cognitive, attitudinal and behavioural aspects of prejudice (Butt, 1989; Ijaz and Ijaz, 1982; Leming, 1992). Certain approaches, such as increasing the inter-racial contact of students, tend to work best under a set of preconditions that include equal status interactions among participants, co-operative activities, mutually interdependent relationships and school support for the contact. Moreover their effectiveness is enhanced when they are combined with other intervention strategies, such as those that help students become cognizant of the nature and limitations of generalizations. The combined approach can help students "witness for themselves the misleading nature of racist stereotypes" when they interact with members of another racial group (Short, 1993, p.166).

Regarding the role of teachers, McGregor (1993) cited a study which illustrates how teachers might mediate the effectiveness of a particular teaching method for reducing prejudice. In the study, students who recorded the least amount of attitudinal change in the post treatment measure were those taught by a teacher who took a negative approach in the anti-racism discussions. This underlines the "crucial part that teachers play in implementing programs ... [It] also has obvious implications for teacher education and in-service program" (p.224).

Teachers' expectations, attitudes and classroom behaviours

Teachers can have a positive or negative influence on students' attitudes, feelings about themselves and academic performance. Teachers' expectations, attitudes and classroom behaviours can deliver strong and pervasive messages to racial minority students concerning their role in schools and the opportunity structures available to them in later life. They can teach "the majority of black and low-income students obedience and deference to authority, docility, subordination, extrinsic motivation, external control, dependence, and fatalism" (Irvine, 1989, p.5).

Since most teachers in North America were raised and socialized in a Eurocentric educational environment, they are *not* a product of an anti-racist education. They may unwittingly hold different expectations for students of different races and ethnic groups and interact with them according to those expectations (Lynch, 1987). Though the discriminatory behaviours are *not* intentional, the discriminatory effects are real to the racial minority students. Since reality depends on one's perception of the world, if minority students perceive unequal treatment, then that perception is their reality.

Irvine (1989, p.10) summarized the specific areas in which teachers are prone to give differential treatment as: teacher-student interactions; the teachers' allocation of time, rewards and resources; the dispensation of punishment; and teacher expectations for student success or failure, docility or assertiveness, independence or dependence.

Minority students' perceptions of teacher-student interaction

The following are a few examples of minority students' perceptions of teacher-student interactions in the United States.[9] In a study by Murray and Clark (1990), Black students between the ages of 5 and 17 perceived that teachers tended to give more positive reinforcement to White students, required less effort from minority students, and meted out harsher or more public discipline for the same behaviour to Blacks than to Whites. Black students also felt that teachers' perceptions of their behaviour were based on stereotypes of minority students rather than the actual behaviour of individual students.

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9. The apparent imbalance of racial references to Black students in this section is a reflection of the existing literature rather than the authors' deliberate choice.

In another study of Black and White fifth grade students of similar achievement levels (Marcus, Gross and Seefeldt, 1991), Black male students perceived their teachers treated them in ways teachers typically treat lower achieving students. That is, they perceived "their teachers expected less from them, called on them less, and gave them fewer choices than was the case with the White males and Black females" (p.366). Christmon (1989) cited studies in which Black students were ignored more, praised less, and criticized more by their teachers. Other research suggested that teachers use more positive verbal and non-verbal interactions with middle-class, Anglo students than with lower-class ethnic minority students and that teachers also show more bias against the languages or dialects of particular ethnic groups (Banks, 1985).

All of these findings underscore the need for teachers to unlearn racist attitudes and behaviours at a personal level through self examination of attitudes and current teaching practices, as well as the need for them to make a conscious effort to eliminate racist language and behaviour. Teachers also have to acknowledge that the current system may not be working to provide equal education, but instead may be working directly and indirectly to produce and reproduce an unequal system in schools and in society. Although the reasons for the disproportionate number of underachieved minority students are many and complex, teachers' high expectations, and positive attitudes and behaviour toward minority students *can* make a difference in reversing the trend.

Cultural differences as barriers for instruction

Educators who subscribe to the "cultural discontinuity" theory contend that cultural differences between White Anglo teachers and racial minority students can create instructional barriers. They maintain that the low achievement of minority students can be largely explained by cultural conflicts rather than by low ability or a lack of desire to succeed. Many forms of cultural collisions between teachers and students have been described in the literature (Gilbert and Gay, 1985; Christmon, 1989; Hilliard III, 1989). The following are some of those examples.

- **Learning styles**: The literature suggests that some minority groups tend to work more efficiently in "cooperative, informal and loosely structured environments" and tend to focus on general concepts rather than details. In contrast, the learning style normally expected and rewarded in schools is characterized by a formal and structured environment, individual and competitive efforts and attention to factual details (Gilbert and Gay, 1985, pp.134-135).

- **Relational styles**: Some minority students' stage-setting behaviours (e.g. elaborately checking pencils and paper, checking the perceptions of nearby students) that precede the performance of a task may be interpreted by Anglo teachers as "avoidance tactics, inattentiveness, disruptions or evidence of not being adequately prepared to do the assigned task" (Gilbert and Gay, 1985, p.135).

- **Communication styles**: The school's emphasis on written and direct communication styles versus some minority cultures' emphasis on oral and dramatic communication styles can be another source of conflict (Gilbert and Gay, 1985, p.135). Moreover, many teachers of European background who have a linear storytelling style may find it difficult to follow the spiraling storytelling style of some minority children which have "many departures from an initial point, but with a return to make a whole." Some White teachers believe such stories are incoherent, lose patience with the child and indicate he/she is doing badly (Hilliard III, 1989, p.69).

- **Perceptions of involvement**: The sole cognitive participation of students expected by teachers versus the multiple participation (cognitively, affectively and physically) of some minority students is another example of cultural collision. When teachers expect one student talking at a time, they would interpret several students talking simultaneously or one student doing several activities at the same time as disorderly or distracting. The teachers' negative reaction to such behaviours, in turn, will frustrate some minority students and lead them to withdraw from classroom involvement (Gilbert and Gay, 1985, p.135).

The negative effects of cultural collision on teachers and minority students may include the waste of mental energies on tasks unrelated to instructional substance and the arising tensions between teachers and students. In addition, teachers may draw conclusions about the academic abilities of minority students based on the problems encountered during the teaching/ learning procedures. Consequently, teachers may start teaching down to the estimated level while minority students respond and adjust their behaviours accordingly (Gilbert and Gay, 1985; Hilliard III, 1989). This process will perpetuate the cycle of low expectations and low academic performance of minority students.

Culturally sensitive instructional approaches

It is only when teachers and racial minority students are culturally in tune, that good communication, effective instruction, and maximum positive teacher affect can be achieved

(Irvine, 1989). The KEEP Project (Kamehameha Early Education Project) in Hawaii is one well known school-based experiment that harmonized teaching practices and classroom organization with the students' culture (Harvard Education Letter, 1988; Tharp and Gillimore, 1988). The multidisciplinary team of school staff in the experiment was successful in identifying "a combination of teaching practices and classroom organization that would both engage these children in their own learning and boost their achievement" (Harvard Education Letter, 1988, p.2).

During the experiment, a new style of classroom participation evolved which encouraged students to engage in text discussions compatible with those of the indigenous culture. The participation structure resembled 'talk story', which is a favourite style of conversation used among adults of the Hawaiian-Polynesian culture. The talk-story participants help one another in the telling of stories, talk "in pairs, triplets, or ensembles", and "act as both supporters and critics of one another's contributions -- in contrast to the usual classroom practice of waiting one's turn and responding individually" (Harvard Education Letter, 1988, p.2). As a result of five years of intervention, the reading scores of native Hawaiian students improved substantially from the 27th to the 50th percentile in the national standardized reading tests. One implication of this finding is that when teaching styles and classroom practices incorporate and build on the strengths of students' culture, students can be empowered to achieve and succeed in school.

Teachers who want to better accommodate the cultural styles of racial minority students have to modify some of the classroom procedures for teaching and learning. They have to consider whether any aspect of the student's cultural trait has implications for the content, context and mode of instruction. For instance, a given trait, like having a higher regard for pleasing family than self, may require the teacher to reinforce the student by making reference to the student's family and also to teach more about the family's specific expectations for students in the classroom (Vasquez, 1990). Teachers may also need to modify their communication patterns to accommodate those of students by varying rhythm, pacing, and wait-time in all subject areas.

However, the literature also cautions that overgeneralizing cultural characteristics can create harmful stereotypes and become counterproductive. Teachers should keep in mind that there is diversity in learning styles within cultural groups, so information about cultural groups should be used judiciously to provide a general context and important clues about the student. In other words, teachers should balance their knowledge of students both as individuals and

members of a cultural group and should always treat every student as an individual (ERS, 1991; Lucas and Schecter, 1992).

In order to make the student's world and the classroom more congruent, the teacher must understand the student's cultural and religious practices, cognitive/learning styles, specific interests and concerns, and past experiences with schooling, and must incorporate this knowledge into daily learning experiences (Christmon, 1989; Vasquez, 1990; Lucas and Schecter, 1992). This knowledge can be acquired through reading, workshops, academic courses and by asking students, parents and members of the community (Vasquez, 1990; Asante, 1991; Ho, 1991; Lucas and Schecter, 1992).

In addition to finding out about the sociocultural contexts of students and incorporating that knowledge into instruction, teachers themselves must also respect and value diversity and view the students' "cultural 'ways of knowing' as resources to be used rather than deficits to be remediated" (ERS, 1991, p.6). **Most important of all, teachers must hold high academic expectations of all students while making attempts to meet the needs of individual students.** This is to ensure that both equity and excellence are maintained. Gilbert and Gay (1985) reiterated that "the skills themselves and the expectations of high achievement are nonnegotiable; rather, the means of teaching them should be negotiable and modified" (p.136).

Staff composition

The link between staff composition and anti-racist education

Anti-racist educators argue that one of the major ways in which institutional racism perpetuates itself has been "through the almost exclusive recruitment of White teachers to the profession" (Brandt, 1986, p.128). They have become increasingly aware that the messages students receive from the curriculum go beyond those conveyed by texts (Endicott and Mukherjee, 1992; Newton, 1992). They believe that students acquire important learning by observing the power relationship in the schools, noting "which ethnic groups are represented among the administrators, teachers, secretaries, cooks, and bus drivers in the school" (Banks, 1985, p.79). Since anti-racist educators see the issues of curriculum and personnel as closely linked, they become concerned not only with *what* is being taught, and *how* the material is being taught, but also *by whom* (Endicott and Mukherjee, 1992).

Both racial minority and White students are adversely affected if the staff composition is primarily White. The lack of role models for racial minority students is only one negative effect among others. For example, Endicott and Mukherjee (1992) reported that "current research shows that White students also internalize the notion that other racial groups are inferior" when they do not see racial minority and aboriginal adults as authority figures (p.5).

Benefits of the presence of racial minority staff

The presence of racial minority staff can benefit students of all backgrounds. According to the literature, (Sleeter, 1990; Tator and Henry, 1991; and Endicott and Mukherjee, 1992), racial minority teachers:

- can enrich the learning experience of all students by exposing them to a diversity of perspectives, worldviews, and teaching styles;
- can help all students to challenge "stereotypes and prejudices as to who has knowledge and whose knowledge is legitimate" (Endicott and Mukherjee, 1992, p.10);
- can represent positive role models for both mainstream and minority students;

- o can reinforce the self-esteem and improve the educational outcomes of minority students by providing them with a "more optimistic view of their life chances" (Tator and Henry, 1991, p.128). When children see people of their own culture as achievers, they are inspired to be achievers as well (Price, 1991);
- o can share and understand the cultural background of minority students;
- o tend to be aware of the barriers of discrimination encountered by minority students because of their own life experiences;
- o tend to hold higher expectations for minority students than White teachers.

In addition, minority teachers can be "resources to the system, by critically questioning the impact of prevailing ideas and organizational behaviours" (Endicott and Mukherjee, 1992, p.10). Their presence can also "motivate White colleagues to question their own racial stereotypes" (Sleeter, 1990, p.37).

A British study by Milner (1987) confirms that the presence of racial minority teachers does benefit students. It found that the presence of Black teachers contributed significantly to racial attitude change among students of different racial backgrounds after five years of intervention. It reversed a trend among West Indian and Asian students to prefer White images over those of their own racial identity. The change in attitude remained statistically significant after taking into consideration the effect of multiracial/ multicultural books used in the classroom.

A study from the United States provides evidence that racial minority teachers showed higher expectations for minority students than did White teachers (Beady and Hansell, 1981). The study involved 90 predominantly Black or White elementary schools in Michigan. The results demonstrated that Black teachers expected more Black students to enter and complete college in the future than did White teachers in both low- and high achieving Black schools. The researchers suggested plausible explanations for the optimism of Black teachers which include: "the result of Black teachers' own successful experiences in college, a wish to provide well motivated and encouraging role models, a strong belief that their students are capable, or a belief that affirmative action policies now make it possible for more Black students to enter and graduate from college" (Beady and Hansell, 1981, p.200).

One implication of the above finding is that **when minority teachers believe that minority students are capable of high achievement, they are more likely to assume responsibility for student achievement and maintain high achievement standards.** For the above reasons, many anti-racist education initiatives include attempts to bring staffing in line with student body composition.

Policies on racial/ethnic harassment and incidents

Racial incident/harassment policies and guidelines help to focus attention on the problem, define schools' moral position on racism, and outline procedures for staff to follow. One Canadian example of such policy guidelines is that developed by the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association (SSTA, 1992). Several basic elements which are essential for reducing racial incidents can be extracted from the SSTA guidelines and others mentioned in the literature (Cohn, 1987; Hart and Lumsden, 1989; National Union of Teachers, 1989).

- It is imperative for schools to condemn and to emphasize zero tolerance for the expression of racism in any form, which may include name calling, racial and ethnic jokes, graffiti, comments that perpetuate stereotypes, distributions of hate literature, and physical violence expressed by students, teaching and support staff, trustees or anyone associated with the Board. Failure of the staff to respond to racial incidents consistently implies indifference and tacit approval.

- Staff should use such incidents as "teachable moments" to explain to the perpetrator why it is wrong and to change the racist behaviour. The discussion could include the whole class, if appropriate. Through appropriate management of racial incidents, such episodes can be turned around to produce positive outcomes.

- Clear advice and support should be provided to the victims of verbal or physical abuse to help reduce their feelings of helplessness and frustration.

- Schools should develop a tracking system to monitor both racial incidents and responses that take place. A specially designed racial incident form helps to formalize all racist responses, regardless of how minor the incident may seem. A staff member should be responsible for the monitoring procedure and the results of the findings should be shared with parents as well.

- Every school should establish school-wide policies on racial incidents and the policies must be communicated clearly on a regular basis to the entire school community.

A secondary school in Oregon demonstrated an effective way to respond to racial incidents by declaring itself a "Racism Free Zone". Student representatives worked on a statement

affirming the equality of all people at the school and reaffirmed that status every year in a solemn ceremony. The statement was inscribed on a plaque, signed by students who endorsed it and placed in the front lobby of the school. The school reported that as a result of this racial incident policy, everyone in the school became more sensitive to racial remarks and racist attitudes and that minority students came "to feel more accepted and ... experienced fewer name-calling incidents. They are also more apt to let others know when comments made to them are unacceptable" (Hart and Lumsden, 1989, p.21).

Assessment and placement of minority students

Assessment and placement of minority students can "represent the most potent factors in retarding the scholastic progress of a large number of students" (Samuda et al., 1989, p.173). Minority students tend to be over-represented in low ability groupings and non-academic streams and underrepresented in gifted/enrichment programs and university track courses. For instance, the 1987 Every Secondary Student Survey conducted by the Toronto Board of Education found clear overrepresentation of black students in basic and general level programs (Cheng et al. 1989). Cummins has asserted that "the data regarding the massive overrepresentation of minority children in special education classes have been available for almost 20 years" (in Samuda, 1989, p.96). Consistent findings like these have led to mounting concern about assessment and placement procedures and to growing pressures to make reforms that will result in a more equitable system.

Problems with the current practices in assessment and placement

The literature indicates a number of problems with current placement and assessment practices that are specific to the situation of minority students (Irvine, 1989; Samuda et al., 1989; Tator and Henry, 1991). They include:

- the lack of training for teachers and other testers, in a cross-cultural context, on how to "draw from their students the pertinent information upon which an accurate assessment can be based" (Samuda et al. 1989, p.114);
- the tendency for psychological assessment to "locate the cause of the academic problem within the minority students" rather than "the child's entire learning environment" (Samuda et al. 1989, p.104);
- labelling and assigning students to a particular level or program solely based on the use of standardized tests, despite significant differences between the population on which the test norms are based and immigrant or minority students (Samuda p.113, 1989);
- the timing of the assessment which usually takes place soon after a student's arrival in the system. According to research, it is difficult to establish the academic

potential of new immigrants until they have been learning the school language for at least five years;

- the lack of parental input in making placement decisions which are quite inflexibly permanent;
- "the lack of ongoing assessment and the lack of open-ended program placement" (Samuda et al., 1989, p.178) which mean that minority students' school experience, and life chances, may be determined by only one assessment, unresponsive to changes that occur in the course of education;
- the inflexibility of organizational structures "to accommodate students who are above average in one subject and below average in another. These inflexible and unyielding placements assume that one's intelligence is measurable, unidimensional, fixed, unalterable, and that achievement is general, not specific to a subject" (Irvine, 1989, p.9).

Suggested changes for assessment/placement strategies

In response to the weaknesses of the current assessment and placement situations, a number of changes or strategies have been suggested in the literature. These recommendations for improving assessment procedures are appropriate to all students, but they are particularly important for minority students in light of the barriers they face. For example, Messick (1984) presented a two-phase comprehensive assessment for placement which entails 1) a systematic examination of the child's learning environment and the nature and quality of regular instruction the child receives, and 2) administering a multiple battery of relevant measures to determine the child's needs (cognitive functioning, adaptive behaviour and biomedical disorders). He emphasized that the second phase is necessary only when deficiencies in the teaching-learning environment have been discounted.

Samuda et al. (1989) also suggested that assessment should be based on the child's entire learning environment. This would include considering the interactions that the child experiences both within and outside the school, the extent to which the child's home language and culture are incorporated or encouraged in the classroom and the child's learning styles, linguistic and cultural variations. Other suggestions in the literature include:

- using practices which assess a student's "capacity to learn and grow, not just his/her current knowledge and/or socialization base" (Samuda et al. 1989, p.182);

- assessing students' educational and conceptual background in their first languages by trained staff familiar with the language and culture of the child taking the tests;
- incorporating assessment procedures that are both formal and informal (in the context of daily classroom activities); using comprehensive, multiple assessment instruments or a "broad spectrum of different approaches in order to try to provide a just basis for the appraisal of all pupils" (Lynch, 1987, p.76);
- providing additional preparation and training for teachers in the area of assessment, including sensitivity to cultural factors;
- communicating to parents about the school board's assessment and placement procedures, the consequences of the placement decisions, parents' rights, alternative choices and procedures for appeal and ensuring parental participation in making placement decisions;
- devising board-wide explicit policies about assessment and placement of minority children that take into consideration research findings in the field;
- developing "policies and practices that link assessment to program response and modification, rather than merely assigning students to a particular existing level of 'status quo' program" (Samuda, et al., 1989, p.186).

Parental and community involvement

The link between parental involvement and school success of minority students

The importance of parental involvement in helping children to succeed in school, especially for low-income disadvantaged minority children is well documented (Cummins, 1986; Chavkin, 1989; Fruchter, Galletta and White, 1993). Research findings show that involved parents extend and reinforce what is taught at school and help to create a home environment conducive to academic success (Fruchter, et al., 1993). Other benefits include "increased student attendance, positive parent-child communication, improved student attitudes and behaviour, and more parent-community support of the school" (Chavkin, 1989, p.119).

A Chicago study of achieving and underachieving Black students provides evidence for a link between parental support and their child's academic success (Chavkin, 1989). How students spend their time at home appears to make a difference in their school achievement. The study reveals that while the achieving Black students spent at least twenty hours a week after school reading, writing, studying and doing activities conducive to school success, underachieving Black students were likely to spend their time in "passivity and leisure" (p.120). The researcher concluded that the school should be responsible for informing minority parents about effective parenting styles and to teach them specific skills and strategies in helping children to succeed in school.

Other forms of involvement, such as the participation of minority parents in school governance, also have a positive impact on their children's education. One well known example is the intervention program initiated by James Comer and his colleagues in two predominantly Black and low-income schools in Connecticut (in Chavkin, 1989). The program was designed to foster "positive interaction between parents and school staff" by involving parents in a governance and management team (p.122). Apart from formal meetings to discuss academic and social changes, the team also met frequently in social gatherings. The findings show that as a result of the improved school climate and positive teacher-parent relationship, the academic achievement of students improved and even surpassed the national average twelve years after the inception of the program. Behavioural problems in these schools also declined.

Myths about the involvement of minority parents

One of the biggest obstacles in keeping schools from increasing the level of parental involvement is the myth that minority parents are indifferent to their children's education and do not support the efforts of the school. Another myth is that the involvement of non-English-speaking parents may be counterproductive to the English language development of ESL (English as Second Language) students. Lucas and Schecter (1993) labelled this viewpoint as 'deficit hypothesis' thinking. (Also see the following section on Language Issues.)

Chavkin (1989) presented research to show that parents from disadvantaged groups who may lack knowledge about school practice, do not lack interest in their children's schools. She reviewed a 1980-86 study conducted in the Southwest part of U.S. which included Black and Hispanic parents. The data indicate that parents of all ethnic/cultural backgrounds were concerned about their children's learning. In addition, parents wanted to participate actively in their children's education, in ways such as attending school performances and helping children at home. Minority parents also showed an interest in areas such as involvement in the school decision making process related to student progress evaluation; choosing classroom discipline methods; setting school behaviour codes; and deciding on the amount of homework.

Another study reported by Chavkin (1989) reveals that schools often fail to develop appropriate strategies for involving parents from minority groups and low socio-economic class and unwittingly create barriers to discourage them. Minority parents in the study were seldom asked to provide input in planning involvement activities and were given no choice about "the types of involvement, the scheduling of activities, or the location of the events" (p. 120). The study further reveals that minority parents with a low level of education were likely to feel "intimidated" by the school structures and personnel and to feel uneasy about approaching school staff, especially "if they had had previous negative contacts with the school" (p. 120).

Cummins (1986) pointed out that non-English-speaking parents are often excluded from participating in their children's school work. Their interaction with children in the home language is frequently discouraged and regarded as contributing to the academic problems of their children. He produced evidence that when schools adopt a collaborative approach with parents, regardless of their language background, dramatic changes in children's academic achievement can be observed.

The British Haringey project is a case in point. It involved having the experimental students read to parents at home on a regular basis in a multiethnic neighbourhood where many parents

are non-English-speakers. At the end of two years, the reading progress of this group exceeded those of students who received extra reading instruction in small groups by specialists (Cummins, 1986). The findings indicate that when schools involve minority parents, who may not be proficient in English, as partners in their children's education, "parents appear to develop a sense of efficacy that communicates itself to children, with positive academic consequences" (Cummins, 1986, p. 26).

The literature suggests that educators at all levels should look beyond the myths about ethnic minority parents. Instead, schools are urged to find creative ways to increase the minority parents' level of participation in their children's education. Policy attention and public resources are needed to set up appropriate structures and strategies and to provide teachers with the necessary tools. Specifically, teachers need to understand the importance of parental involvement as the key to the school success of minority students; they also need training to work with minority parents, such as special communication skills and understanding the parents' cultural backgrounds; they may also need to work closely with heritage language instructors or educational assistants who speak the minority language.

New directions in the area of parental involvement

Fruchter, et al. (1993) highlighted a number of programs which represent new directions in this area. The common objective of these programs was to create a new generation of parents from disadvantaged and minority neighbourhoods, who are "honed by their experience of active participation in shaping their children's schooling ... to transform schools that have traditionally miseducated and underserved too many ... children" (p. 42). These programs built on the "strengths rather than the deficits" of the culturally diverse families "to make schools more flexible, responsive, and culturally sophisticated institutions" (p. 42).

The underlying principles of these programs outlined by Fruchter, et al. (1993) include: 1) using the concept of ecology that parents, schools and community are *interdependent* and *all* are needed to ensure children's success in school; 2) valuing "the assets and strengths that all families bring to their children's learning"; and 3) empowering parents to take an active rather than a passive role in their children's education.

In recognizing that schools alone cannot provide all the services that the families need, these programs emphasized collaboration and drew heavily on parent and community resources. While some of these programs recruited and trained parents as teachers of other parents, other programs recruited community leaders as trainers. In some cases, local organizations were

used as training sites to reduce the barriers that school-based programs might create. External funding and expertise were sought to start and maintain the programs in some cases (Fruchter, et al., 1993).

For example, the TransParent School Model enabled low income, minority parents to dial a special school number for a recorded message which reported classroom and school activities. Special features that allowed parents to retrieve electronic information about their own children's accomplishments and to leave messages about their concerns were available. The initial financial and technical support from the Bell South Foundation and Central Bell was later shifted to joint support by public funding, "parent-teacher groups, foundations and businesses" (Fruchter, et al., 1993, p. 37).

Three other programs, namely the Family Study Institute program, the Family Math and Science programs and the Megaskills Program all involved parent or community volunteers (Fruchter, et al., 1993). The Family Study Institute program offered parents in low-income and minority neighborhoods courses about creating home environments that reinforced good study habits, improved parent-child communication about school-related activities, and encouraged family reading. Parent volunteers were recruited as group leaders to train other parents through the use of curriculum materials and home learning activities. Family Math and Science programs for female and minority students provided hands-on mathematics and science activities for parents and children to work together in the same class. The goal was to reinforce what was taught in school through home-based learning activities. The classes were taught by teachers and trained parents in school and community settings. The Megaskills Program was designed to help children develop skills linked to school success (such as problem solving skills) using parents and community volunteers as trainers.

Language issues

At least two language issues can be identified in the anti-racist education literature. The first one is related to the teaching of English as Second Language or English Skills Development (ESL/ESD), while the second focuses on the relationship between home and school language use.

English as Second Language

The challenge faced by educators in providing equitable education for ESL/ESD students is how to make instruction comprehensible to them while teaching them the same level of concepts and skills taught to the other students. Lucas and Schecter (1992) cautioned teachers not to offer ESL/ESD students a "watered-down" version of the content. Instead, teachers should continue to explore the range of possible instructional strategies (e.g. cooperative learning, writing across the curriculum) and curricular approaches (e.g. content instruction in the students' first language and English language instruction; content instruction in English modified for easier understanding supplemented or not supplemented by first language instruction) for ESL/ESD students.

The literature also notes that schools should stop the practice of treating ESL as a learning handicap and grouping ESL students in low ability level or special education programs (Samuda et al. 1989). Not only are the requirements of the ESL and special education programs different, this practice is also harmful to the ESL students' self-image and the perception of their ability by other students (National Union of Teachers, 1989).

Home language

The educational progress of minority students is linked to the extent to which the home language is promoted at school and incorporated into the school program. Cummins (1986) maintained that educators who view their role as adding a new language to their students' repertoire "are likely to empower students more than those who see their role as replacing or subtracting students' primary language and culture" (Cummins, 1986, p. 25).

The subtractive or deficit thinking often views the mismatch between home and school language as the failure of minority parents to adequately prepare their children for school. The

diverse language experience is not treated as a valuable asset and hence those resources are not tapped. This thinking also triggers "implicit evaluations" from teachers who perceive the language skills of minority students as "less desirable and less appropriate" than those of the mainstream students (Lucas and Schecter, 1992). In contrast, an additive perspective views both home and school languages as beneficial to the minority students.

The Carpinteria experiment in California indicates that the nurturing of the native language can facilitate the literacy acquisition of minority students in both English and native language (Cummins, 1986). This experiment involved teaching Spanish exclusively to pre-kindergarten Spanish-speaking children who came from low income families where the parents were mostly farm workers with an average education of grade six. The program allowed the children "the opportunity to develop their language skills in Spanish to as high a degree as possible within the structure of the pre-school day" (in Cummins, 1986, p. 31).

Compared to Spanish-speaking children from the same area who were taught in a bilingual program with a focus on English, children in the experimental program performed better in school readiness skills by the time they were admitted to kindergarten and a year later at grade one. Also in grade one, the children in the experimental group had caught up with the performance of the English-background students, while their Spanish-speaking peers in the bilingual program were still trailing behind. Moreover, in both years, the experimental group performed better on both the English and Spanish versions of an oral syntactic development test than their Spanish-speaking counterparts in the bilingual program.

Campos and Keatinge concluded that "although project participants were exposed to less total English, they, because of their enhanced first language skill and concept knowledge were better able to comprehend the English they were exposed to" (in Cummins, 1986, p. 32). The kindergarten teachers attributed the success of the program to the total first language environment that provided students with greater awareness of what is happening around them in the classroom, better ability to focus on the task at hand and more self-confidence in learning situations.

Similarly, the KEEP project described in an earlier section (about culturally sensitive instructional approach), also shows a positive relationship between native language use and improvement in reading skills. Native Hawaiian children increased their discussions of the readings in class drastically when teachers allowed them to speak freely in Hawaiian Creole, although the textbooks and the teacher's language were still in standard English. The author explained that when the culture of the students is respected, "the children were more able to

relate their own experiences to the text -- an essential step for any child in developing reading skills" (Harvard Educational Letter, 1988, p. 2).

An additive orientation does not always mean the actual teaching of the minority language. It also includes the subtle ways educators communicate to students and parents about the validity and advantages of minority culture and language within the school context. Whether the heritage language is discouraged by teachers at school or at home sends out a powerful message to students. When the home language is not validated by the school, minority students will gradually believe that their ways of using language are wrong, which will lower their self-esteem (Lucas and Schecter, 1992). It is imperative for teachers to demonstrate respect for students' language and culture which are essential parts of the students' identity (National Union of Teachers, 1989).

Staff development

Staff development plays an important role in the implementation of anti-racist education. First, it helps staff to cope with, and prepare for, changes brought about by the restructuring of the school to combat racism. Second, it permits staff to question and reflect on their own attitudes and assumptions about race and racism. Third, staff development helps teachers and administrators to acquire a new perspective that has not been a part of their education and experience. Finally, it provides staff with opportunities to learn strategies for fighting racism in the schools (Sleeter, 1990). These strategies may include developing culturally relevant lesson plans and curriculum; matching teaching styles to student learning styles; promoting inter-group understanding; and learning how to handle discipline problems in culturally diverse settings and to interact with ethnic minority parents.

The need for anti-racist education in-service

The need for in-service to help teachers cope with the new anti-racist perspective in teaching has been validated by teachers. A 1992 survey of teachers in the West area of the City of Toronto reveals that slightly over half of the teachers felt they need *practical* in-service on how to integrate an anti-racist education perspective into specific curriculum areas such as language and mathematics. Over half of the teachers also wanted suggestions on classroom techniques and information on dealing with sensitive or awkward situations involving race and racism (Cheng and Soudack, 1993).

Another U.S. survey conducted in a mostly Black and Hispanic area found that most teachers were in favour of being trained in parental involvement, which is an important component of anti-racist education. They also agreed that it is vital for parents to reinforce what is learned at school and felt it is their responsibility to train parents about helping children at home (Chavkin, 1989). The need for staff development became apparent when only a small percentage of the teachers indicated that they had actually received training in this area. Teachers reported that they often had to educate themselves through a search of materials and felt frustrated by the lack of available information.

On the other hand, there are a few teachers who are cynical or resentful about in-service on anti-racism and feel that they already know enough and that further training does not have more to offer. They tend to view multicultural and anti-racist education in a narrow sense and

see no connection between anti-racist education and minority students' low academic achievement and dropout rates. Sleeter (1990) attributed these negative attitudes to ineffective staff development programs in the past. She examined the characteristics of such in-service programs and identified the following shortcomings:

- treating staff development as a free-floating or stand-alone activity that is separate from other efforts of the school to combat institutional discrimination;
- offering piecemeal, fragmented training that can make teachers lose sight of the broad philosophical orientations that undergird the learning of specific skills; e.g. "teachers may thus become quite skilled in the use of particular strategies and still present a white-male-dominated curriculum" (Sleeter, 1990, p. 36);
- putting too much emphasis on changing individual teachers instead of changing the organization of schooling;
- conducting only superficial needs assessment in the planning of staff development programs (e.g. just finding out what the teachers are interested in signing up for);
- putting too much emphasis on content rather than on process (e.g. using ineffective processes such as large-group lectures by outside experts).

Characteristics of an effective staff development model for anti-racist education

Sleeter (1990) also reviewed some successful staff development models and highlighted their common characteristics. They include:

- making staff development an intrinsic part of the restructuring process to promote equal outcomes for students rather than add-on programs and activities;
- basing staff development on a needs assessment which identifies those school processes that create inequality, and therefore need addressing;
- focussing on the whole school or on several parts of a school system, rather than on individual teachers;
- involving staff in planning both the content and the process for professional development;
- using an active learning approach that involves participants, such as peer coaching;

- o conducting staff development as an on-going process, with follow-up and support, and evaluating its impact continually.

In addition to providing in-service for the existing staff, incoming staff should receive training to familiarize themselves with the school anti-racist policy and its full commitment to implementation (National Union of Teachers, 1989). In-service for support staff, such as school secretaries, lunch room staff, educational assistants and caretakers, is needed as well because their constant contacts with students can either reinforce or undo the efforts made by the teaching staff to combat racism (Cheng and Soudack, 1993).

Role of the Principal

Although the literature on anti-racist education has not covered the role of principals as extensively as that of teachers, it does not mean that principals play a lesser role. On the contrary, the principal is seen as "the one person with the greatest opportunity to ensure that anti-racist education becomes a reality..." (in Tator and Henry, 1991, p.127). This is because a principal:

- sets the climate for the school;
- can exercise a strong influence over the explicit and hidden curriculum that affirms the experiences of all children;
- "communicates the principles of racial and ethnocultural equity within every aspect of school life" (Tator and Henry, 1991, p.128);
- can provide support to teachers to try out new or different anti-racist approaches and strategies in the classrooms;
- can have a direct influence over the recruitment of new staff in creating a "more balanced multi-ethnic and multiracial staff complement" (Tator and Henry, 1991, p.127);
- can encourage minority parents to become more active partners in their children's education;
- can sensitize the community to the issues of anti-racist education.

The Flemington Public School, as described in an earlier section, is one example of how the principal's strong leadership can facilitate the successful implementation of anti-racist education initiatives. Simons (1991) presented the various aspects of the principal's leadership that were responsible for the accomplishments of the Flemington experiment. They include:

- the principal having a strong vision that all students can learn and succeed in school, and continuously instilling this vision in the minds of her staff, students, their parents and the community at large;

- the principal setting realistic goals for reaching her vision and constantly reinforcing these goals among the staff;
- the principal and vice-principal giving the teachers strong support for meeting new challenges;
- the principal and vice-principal making themselves visible throughout the school as much as possible (including before and after school activities);
- the principal and vice-principal spending time with students, staff and parents, and getting involved with every aspect of school life (such as visiting the classrooms and cafeteria, discussing classroom work with a child, providing input to a teacher regarding a teaching strategy, sharing ideas with the caretaker about improving the physical environment of the school);
- the principal, who is a member of the racial minority group, "providing an affirming role model for all staff and students ... especially the Black and other minority staff and students" (p.28).

Conclusion

In many ways, the pedagogical and organizational strategies of anti-racist education are similar to other educational initiatives. The actual implementation of effective anti-racist education includes:

- using an inclusive rather than exclusive curriculum;
- taking a pluralistic rather than a monocultural perspective;
- using bias-free materials that reflect the student population;
- ensuring that the school environment is harassment-free;
- using pedagogical approaches that enhance students' self-esteem;
- empowering students to think critically and to challenge injustice;
- promoting cooperation among students;
- matching learning styles with teaching strategies;
- holding high expectations for all students;
- respecting and valuing the language and culture of minority students;
- examining assessment and placement procedures critically;
- involving parents to play an active role in their children's learning;
- promoting employment equity;
- providing effective in-service for staff to implement changes in their classrooms.

Most of all, anti-racist education emphasizes the vital importance a commitment to *both equity and academic excellence for all students.* In practice then, much of anti-racist education is really concerned with *quality* education, which is why many people argue that anti-racist education is good education. It "exemplifies sound educational principles which when applied will prepare *all* learners to live in the global village" (Newton, 1992).

On the other hand, implementing anti-racist education is not a comfortable exercise because it involves acknowledging inequity and changing the status quo. However, as the literature points out, we are left with no other choice as educators, because "we cannot continue on the road we have been traveling -- supporting cultural pluralism with our rhetoric, while perpetuating the structural inequities in the educational system" (Lucas and Schecter, 1992, p.102).

The literature strongly suggests that schools have to be more responsive to the needs of minority children by providing them with a supportive and bias-free learning environment that can empower them to break the cycle of discrimination, low self-esteem and under-achievement.

Appendix

In July, 1992, Bill 21 was passed in the Ontario legislature, giving the Minister of Education and Training in Ontario the authority to require the school boards to develop and implement anti-racist and ethnocultural equity policies. One year later, in July, 1993, the Ministry issued Policy/Program Memorandum No. 119, which requires school boards to submit their policies and plans to the Minister for approval, and also to implement those policies. The policy memorandum states that:

> There is growing recognition that educational structures, policies, and programs have been mainly European in perspective and have failed to take into account the viewpoints, experiences, and needs of Aboriginal peoples and many racial and ethnocultural minorities. As a result, systemic inequities exist in the school system that limit the opportunities for Aboriginal and other students and staff members of racial and ethnocultural minorities to fulfil their potential. Educators therefore need to identify and change institutional policies and procedures and individual behaviour and practices that are racist in their impact, if not in intent. In this regard, antiracist and ethnocultural equity education goes beyond multicultural education, which focuses on teaching about the cultures and traditions of diverse groups. (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1993, p. 10).

School boards that already have related policies in place are required to review them to ensure that they focus directly on systemic racism and ethnocultural equity. Other school boards are to submit their plans as soon as they are completed and the deadline for submission has been scheduled for March 31, 1995. By September 1, 1995, all Boards are required to start implementing the Ministry approved policy on anti-racism and ethnocultural equity.

The policies and implementation plans required by the Ministry are comprehensive and have to cover the following ten major areas (Ministry of Education and Training, 1993, p. 3):

- board policies, guidelines, and practices
- leadership
- school-community partnership
- curriculum
- student languages
- student evaluation, assessment, and placement
- guidance and counselling

- racial and ethnocultural harassment
- employment practices
- staff development

School boards are required to submit an annual progress report to the Ministry and the Ministry "will conduct cyclical audits of the policy implementation" (Ministry of Education and Training, 1993, p. 4).

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